ONE PENNY

Workers' Dreadnought

THE RIGHT-TO CONSUME.

Vol. XI. No. 12 June 7th 1924 WEEKLY

The Captain of Industry in Post War Germany as seen by George Grosz.

THE CONFLICT OF REVOLUTION

Masses and Men.

Toller's Great Play.

Toller's drama is his conflict in the days of revolution, and since: it is the universal conflict between peaceable quiescence, and combat that brings with it injury, and suffering, and the fervent love of humanity and desire to right the wrong. Through this conflict all must pass who would challenge the existing order.

Sybil Thorndike and her company have done their work well. They have prepared a beautiful setting for Toller's play, but Sybil Thorndike, fine actress as she is, cannot rise to the height of it. She is not "The Woman," the woman who is Toller's soul in travail, who is the chivalrous love and craving for good in all of us. In the two greatest moments of the play she has no part. Yet she acts bravely. Many will fail to come as near interpreting this part as she has done.

The play is exceedingly great. There is nothing on the modern stage to come near to it.

When the scene opens, however, the presentment offends a little; it is wooden and very stagey. The red flag on the attic wall is painted. The actual flag should hang there in the warmth and beauty of bunting folds. The woman is dressed in crude green. She wears it throughout —a mistake; she should be dressed in more sombre hues, this woman of sorrow and conflict.

She sits there, and the light falling so sharply athwart her face makes it seem actually wooden. The workmen, the comrades, half naked, rigid and stiff in long-held attitudes, jerkily moved; they seem intentionally unreal. There is some lack of truth, of sincerity, of understanding, in making these comrades so dolt-like, so utterly submerged in intelligence. They should be instinct with a volatile fire and purpose, quick and eager and straining unto the goal.

The Man, her husband, enters. He, too, is stiff, designedly so, starched by conventions and retarded impulse, rigid from discipline, arrogant from false pride. And yet throughout he failed a little; he was lacking in force. How could he move her; how could she care for him, this man of straw?

In this scene: she, too, was not fully effective. Too noisy. With slow, quiet and hesitancy, and with a voice that is choked and words that hardly come, should she have confessed her love and longing; but the defiance and the fervour of the revolutionary might have rung out bolder still. No, you have not caught it, Sybil Thorndike; you must try again. You must indicate that your love for the man is a torture to you; that it is gall to you. It must seem to rise from the depths unasked, although repressed because it deflects you even a hair's breadth from the goal. It must be sweet to you; it must be lovely, you must thrill to it, but it must sear you and unnerve you for what he is.

Study the part further—this should be one of the play's great moments but it has failed.

The comrades who talked of revolution have left her with the husband, who charges her to leave it. She has resisted the temptation of his pleading—and here, perhaps, Toller also erred a whit in making the man so peremptory. The woman has defied him and the State he serves. He has denied her cry for one more night of love.

That was a keen thrust, Toller, to make him offer her the path of philanthropy—"homes for illegitimate children: even your comrades despise the unmarried mother."

* * * *

The second scene shows the Stock Exchange—and those who gamble upon the lives and happiness of millions. The satire is biting. It is horrible: it is true. So much is Toller's.

As to the presentation of this scene: the ostentatious silliness of its grotesquerie has much to recommend it. Yet we should have preferred these old men, in their fatness and foppishness to have worn actual modern dress. The women they ordered should actually have come in to join their revels. The orgy should have been staged under the directions of that master of satire, George Grosz.

The woman, led by the guide, as she broke in on this was not sufficiently tragic, insistent, indignant. No she should be more noisy, more clamourous, ruder and more impassioned.

Well staged is the rising up of the workers in their need, in their wailing; their frail arms raised. Like a mist they appear, and gradually take shape and stand forth, turbulent and indignant. This is well done by Toller. Well done by all; bravely acted, finely staged.

The woman is speaking. No, that robe is out of keeping; something light, if you will; not that raw emerald. And you are throughout too same; sometimes too noisy, at others not sharp enough in your passion; there is no white heat in this, but you must generate it if you would show us this drama at its full height.

"I cry strike," says the woman.

The nameless one answers "Revolution."

He acts well, this "Nameless one," Mr. George Hayes. He is ruthless; he is ugly; he is naked. He has no feeling, but we do not expect it of him—he is "Mass"—the crowd—the impersonal—that which happens, that which is capable of being no other.

Behind all this Toller himself puts us the question:

Strike or revolution? Strike or War?

The woman decided for strike—Mass, for armed revolution.

Toller is describing what he has seen, desired, yearned for.

Yet all is not clearly expressed. Perhaps Toller does not see the way through the tangle yet. War and strike are not true alternatives. Neither war nor strike construct. If there is strike, striking will not construct, will not produce. The people must bend themselves to production or they are undone. The Italian metal workers knew this, but could not carry out their intentions. Russia realised this at certain stages of its revolution. What the peasants produced, or failed to produce from the land, and the manner of their production was of more importance to the fate of Russia than anything that was done by the armies of Reds or Whites.

The play goes on. Mass rebukes the woman: "Be silent, comrade." The workers cry for revolution and Mass demands it. The woman is over-ridden. Mass grasps her and she worships. The play is Toller's apologia, his remorse, his sorrow, his heart searching.

* * *

Outside a prison: The sentries, ghoulish and horrible, debased, decrepit, stunted by poverty and squalor. In the dark of night, in the faint glimmer of lights by the prison wall, they are revelling by new-dug graves; poor paltry mirth.

"My mother bore me in the mud of a trench. . . .

"My father got me in a brawl with a wench."

Horrible laughter follows each line.

Those who are condemned to die, plead that they may join the revels; may dance and make merry for the last, last time. Once more, only once more before I go to my inexorable fate; it is the cry of the woman also; it was Toller's cry as he lay in prison; we all make that cry in the crises of our lives.

Bourgeois Patriots in the days of defeat drawn by George Grosz.

They come forth, all the prisoners; the flotsam and jetsam of parasites who make up the army of those who do not work. In the dimness their sordid, sad revels continue.

The hour of execution dawns: the husband, the bourgeois, upholder of the capitalist State stands with his back to the wall awaiting the volley. The woman rushes forward to protect him.

* * * *

Mass sits on the platform at the battle headquarters, the woman beside him; he exulting in victory, she torn by doubtings.

Exhausted messengers bring news that the army of the workers is being repelled; that the whites give no quarter and kill all prisoners.

Mass calls for reprisals. The woman protests. Their ancient conflict is renewed.

Mass is revenge. No, no, mass is community; mass is construction; mass is love and life.

Yes, the old, old conflict—and yet here, too, something is unexpressed. What else then? one asks, seeking Toller's reply. The answer does not come. What then shall be the choice? Shall it be mere submission?

Mass denounces the woman, calls her a traitor for her pleading, accuses her of seeking to protect the class from which she comes. The workers join in decrying her. She is seized and will be condemned. . .

Cries of despair—at that moment the enemy has overcome them. The scattered remnant of comrade defenders rushes inward with the news.

They gather together, the working fighters in their rags and their poverty.

"Then comrades, come rally. The last fight let us make."

The strains of the International.

On the stage this is the greatest, most moving moment of the play, as the soldiers rush in upon them.

There one might leave it, but the officer's question: "Where is the woman that leads you?" and her hands held out for the handcuffs are the inevitable sequel. She is neither of these nor those, and is condemned by both.

* * *

Now a great vision. The woman is in a cage high up in the Show House of Life. It is placed at night on a dark pinnacle. Behind her stands the guide, sombre and huge. In this scene all appears to be colossal.

The guide accuses the woman of the death of those who were killed in the revolution. She says that she protested, but he tells her she was silent in the days of success and she accepts his dictum.

Grey ghostly figures come in to accuse her of their deaths. She declares it is not she who was guilty, but God.

The ghosts make that their chorus:

"God is guilty; he is guilty."

Now the guide tells the woman that she is free.

To take this part of the play literally would be an anti-climax. It would be unsatisfactory to assume that the woman had gained emancipation by casting the blame for the difficulties of life upon an erring God.

Apparently Toller suggests here that in the inevitable struggle for social change—these deaths were inevitable. Thus was the woman exonerated—this was destiny. At the bar of conscience, for the guide is conscience, and his was the most searching of all trials she has been acquitted.

The capitalist State still waits to try the woman. It shows no mercy.

She is in prison, dreaming of wild, free life.

The husband enters; come to tell her that her high motives have been taken into account, that she is judged not guilty of murder, that her name is not disgraced.

She answers that she is guilty, but that those who uphold the State and its cruelties are more guilty. She turns away from his respectability, the price of freedom; then turns to him for some touch of love, only to find him gone.

Then Mass enters. The woman's doubts are pardoned. The people need her. She may escape. Two sentries are friends; the other they will kill.

The woman refuses. She will not owe her escape to another's death.

She denounces all tyrannies, all dictatorships, demanding freedom for the individual.

Mass also leaves, as the husband did, telling her: "You have been born before your time."

* * *

The officer comes in to tell the woman she is condemned to death. Her motives have been taken into account, but the State demands obedience. He takes her out to execution.

* * *

Then follows a piteous climax. Two wardresses enter; they seize the bread lying on the table, and tear at it ravenously, with muttered cries: "Hungry, hungry."

Two starved creatures; they seize delightedly upon a photograph and a scarf the woman has left behind and hide them in their bosoms.

Suddenly a shot rings out; it is the shot of the executioner.

The women take from out their bosoms and lay on the table their little trophies.

"Sister," they falter, "what makes us do these things?"

This, on the stage, was the second of the greatest moments in a great play.

LIFE OF JAURES.

By Paul Desanges and Luc Meriga.

In this book the authors relate, clearly and concisely, the life and heroic death of the great French orator. It is an enthralling history of the most tragical years of modern times. It marks the awakening of his vocation in the generous soul of the young schoolboy and notes the reasons that led him, step by step, to Socialism. The political and social to bind in one sheaf the wandering forces of part played by Jaures, as well as his efforts to bind in one sheaf the wandering forces of Socialism are outlined in broad strokes, as is also his unceasing struggle against war, his courageous appeals and prophetic views and last of all his dramatic death, a "glorious ending to a glorious life."

Throughout the book we follow up the marvellous progress of a superior existence and the historical part that Jaures played. His aim, according to the authors, was to conciliate the old democratic "myths" with the new ones of the proletarian revolution. A bold attempt well worthy of him who was called the great conciliator. "Failure was certain and probably inevitable. But it had to be attempted as there would have been a missing link in history."

Jaures was probably the last representative of social optimsm. His biography, written without blind passion but with intelligent sympathy should have its place in the library of every student of the evolution of human ideas, of every man who is conscious of the destiny towards which the old world is hastening fast.

G. S.

LESSONS FOR PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

CELLS.

Most of the animals which have but one cell are so small that they cannot be seen by the naked eye and must be examined under the microscope.

Some unicelluar animals are parasites in the bodies of higher animals. The animal on which they live is called the "host." Many of these unicelluar parasites are large enough to be clearly visible to the naked eye. One which lives in the lobster actually attains to the length of two-thirds of an inch.

Some unicelluar animals secrete chalk or flint in the form of little shells. Chalk examined under the microscope is found to contain numbers of little shells. Some of these have many chambers, all of which were secreted by a single cell with a single nucleus.

These little shells are called **calcareous**, which simply means that they are of chalk.

They are beautifully constructed. The chambers, which communicate with each other, are of various forms. One of these shells looks like a raspberry. It is composed of globe-shaped chambers and called **globigerina.**

More than 3,000 distinct species have been found amongst the little animal shells in the chalk.

These little shell-secreting animals are rock builders. They actually make the chalk.

They are roughly about one-hundredth of an inch in diameter.

It is estimated that untold numbers of them produced about an inch of chalk in a year. Chalk is found in places more than 1,000 feet thick. It, therefore, took more than 12,000 years for the tiny animals, literally much more numerous than the sands of the sea, to build it up.

At the present time such tiny creatures as built up the chalk are living on the bed of the ocean and making there their shells. These, together form a paste which is called Globigerina ooze.

It is thus known that the chalk which now forms dry land was once the bed of the ocean.

Nearly 50,000,000 square miles of the ocean bed is formed of such chalky shells.

2,290,000 square miles of the ocean bed is formed of similar flint cells formed by other single celled animals.

The flinty shells are most common in the deepest parts of the ocean which is sometimes five miles deep.

Many unicelluar animals and plants are propelled or rowed along by what is called a **flagellum** which means a whip or scourge. To **flagellate** is, of course, to whip or scourge. The flagellum vibrates and so enables the animal to swim along. Sometimes the flagellum is at the front end of the cell. Then it lashes about and draws the cell after it.

Sometimes it is in the rear and pushes the cell forward like the propeller in the stern of a boat.

Flagella are found on the male reproductive cells of plants and animals. The plural of **flagellum** is **flagella.**

When a cell has a number of flagella all vibrating in unison they are called **cilia.** These wave to and fro, rowing the cell along like the oars of a boat. In the higher multicelluar animals, including human beings, cilia are used to push bodies along. They move to and fro creating a current of fluid in which particles are swept forward.

The air passages in our bodies are lined with cilia. They drive foreign bodies up towards the mouth and so out of the system.

They line the passages from the ovary and help to pass the human egg into the uterus. They also line the cells in the cavity of the brain and those in the central canal of the spinal cord.

Socialism and Literature.

By Henry S. Salt.

Reprinted from "Forecasts of the Coming Century." Published by the Labour Press, Tib Street, Manchester, in 1897.

While the writer's idea of Socialism is not ours, the article is, we think, still of interest. We invite the comments of our readers upon it.

The supposed incompatibility of Socialism and Literature is one of those gloomy prognostications which sometimes afflict the spirits of literary men. And it must be frankly admitted that if there should prove to be any natural antagonism between the two, their collision would indeed be "very awkward" (to repeat George Stephenson's historic saying) for literature, since Socialism is a moral and economic force which, once started, is not in the least likely to be deflected from its career. There is, however, good reason to believe that these anxieties are superfluous: the spread of socialistic principles does not imply the corresponding triumph of vandalism over culture, but rather the reverse, and an estimate of the probable effects of socialism on literature may tend to reassure those who see in the coming nationalisation of letters a still more disquieting phenomenon than the nationalisation of machinery and land.

Slowly, but surely, the new ideal of co-operation is forcing itself more and more on the minds of thoughtful men, and irrevocably displacing the old superannuated formula of internecine competition; already it begins to be apparent that Socialism—the administration of the State in the interests of the whole, and not a part, of its citizens—is not only ethoically just, but economically inevitable. Accordingly, we see that a sauve qui peut is setting in amongst those very powers whose authority was most confidentially invoked against the revolutionary gospel; for science, after blustering awhile, is prudently disposed to take up a "scientific frontier" which shall freely admit of future convenient readjustments; while Religion has bethought itself of the very timely consideration that the welfare of the masses is precisely the question which the Churches have most at heart. And what of Literature? It is full time that it, too, should begin to form some clear conception of the part it is prepared to play in the great struggle, and of the position it will hereafter fill. Let us assume, then, that Socialism, in some form or other, is ultimately certain to be realised: to discuss the various forms is beside our present purpose, the one essential feature of any socialistic regime being that every citizen would, as a matter of course, be assured of a competent livelihood, while none would be able to inherit or amass any nucleus of inordinate wealth. In a state where riches and poverty were alike unknown, where private simplicity went hand-in-hand with public munificence, where the very notion of self-aggrandisement at the expense of one's fellows was held in utter detestation—what, in such a State, would be the probable condition of literature?

It is noticeable that in the history of every nation a certain stage of artificial society—the stage which sees the accumulation of big fortunes on the one side, and the pinch of extreme poverty on the other—is accompanied by a corresponding outburst of the cacoethes scribendi, the "itch for authorship," which is the bane of all true literary feeling. This evil manifests itself in two different directions. First, we have the well-to-do, dilettante authors, who, being blessed with an "independence," to wit, the privilege of living in absolute dependence on the labour of others, are able to indulge their private whims at the expense of the community by writing books which are not wanted, and setting other people to print, publish, distribute, review, and in some cases actually to read them. Secondly, there is the not less mischievous, though personally far less contemptible, class of needy, struggling writers, who have taken to the literary profession as one might take to a pedlar's or costermonger's business, for the cogent reason that in the break-neck competition of modern society it chanced to offer itself as the readiest means of earning a precarious living. Like the unhappy vendor of bootlaces, matches and other sweated goods, who importune unwilling purchasers along the pavements of our great thoroughfares, so do these impecunious scribblers, the gentlemen of literature, flood the market with more or less worthless productions, and vie with their wealthier fellow-penmen in swelling the annual bulk of that vast national refuse heap which is the receptacle for the ceaseless emptying of our literary dustbins.

The inevitable result of this double process is the grievous degradation of literature. The vast majority of both classes—of the rich men who live to write and the poor men who write to live—have no natural capacity for the work they have undertaken; there is no distinction or individuality about them which can be held to justify their choice; they are the mere blacklegs of the profession, without purpose and without self-respect, who debase the standard of literary workmanship, and spoil the market for those craftsmen who have the true artistic gift. For, of course, it is not to be denied, but rather to be welcomed as a matter for sincere rejoicing, that there are many such real workers, albeit a small proportion of the entire number, who, in spite of discouragements of the existing system, do produce good results; though it is important to note that these are usually the men who are not only writers, but have some other and more vital interest in the realisation of life. At any rate, it is certain that where there is true individuality, where an author has positively something to say, and a distinct faculty for saying it, things are at present so arranged as to put him entirely at a disadvantage; he finds himself everywhere jostled and hampered by a crowd of self-seeking adventurers, while the venerable Bumble, who holds the power of the purse, is not usually observed to lend a favourable ear to the promulgator of new ideas. All which things being considered, it is not surprising that a deep pessimism, which is not less unmistakable because it is often veiled in the guise of persiflage, has settled down on our literature.

What then would Socialism do to remedy these evils? To take only that one essential condition of every conceivable Socialist State—the certainty that every citizen, man or woman, would be provided with the means of earning a sufficient and honourable livelihood—can it be doubted that this alone would revolutionise the profession of letters? For consider briefly what it implies. While all **necessary** writing work, journalistic, clerical, official and the like, would be organised and paid on the same scale as any other, there would be an end to the existence of a self-appointed literary class, except possibly where the possession of real talent gave promise of public utility. Henceforth there would be no idle rich gentlemen, who, for sheer lack of anything better to do, would cumber the world with translations from Homer or Heine, or dissertations on art, or volumes of travels, or (that last indignity) their own "reminiscences." There would be no poverty-stricken quill-drivers, compelled, in defiance of the inward monitor and the public neglect to "dree their weird" to the bitter end, and write the more because they write in vain. Incalculable would be the benefit of the mere lessening of the number of published books, and a fair field would thus be opened for those authors who are attracted to writing by a natural and spontaneous aptitude. It was long ago discovered by the poet Ovid that the best remedy for blighted love is regular occupation, and it may safely be surmised that the blighted literateur would be directed in a socialist community, to find comfort in the same infallible prescription. The "itch for authorship" would not survive the establishment of a system where everyone could put his hand, and indeed would be compelled to put his hand, to some wholesome and productive employment; and together with the cacoethes scribendi would vanish, as we may reasonably hope, that prevalent habit of morbid introspection and that tone of cultured cynicism which have so largely paralysed the literary struggle of the present generation.

In the prophetic sketch which has been given by the author of **Looking Backward,** it is observable that a successful writer is permitted to support himself by pen alone, and to claim immunity from the ordinary work which the State requires of its citizens; but Mr. Bellamy, as if conscious that he is here on perilous ground, is careful to add that the popular judgment, by which success is conferred, would be far less partial or erratic than that of nineteenth century readers, so that the literary class thus established would be at once a smaller and more efficient one. There is little to be gained by speculating on the minor details of the Socialism of a century hence, which, whatever it may prove to be, will not be the tyranny that its opponents anticipate; but pace Mr. Bellamy, it may be hoped that in a socialised community there will be no authors, successful or the contrary, who would desire to be put on a different footing to their fellows. For Literature (here I refer to belles lettres, and the ornamental departments in writing) is not and never can be, "work" in the ordinary sense of the term, nor can it be made a fair equivalent for such work; and though it may be desirable in special cases for stated periods, that certain students should be exempt from other duties, it will be found that in the mass, and in the long run, literature itself degenerates when its professors avail themselves permanently of any such immunity. "Can there be any greater reproach," says Thoreau, "than an idle learning? Learn to split wood, at least. Steady labour with the hands, which engrosses the attention also, is unquestionably the best method of removing palaver and sentimentality out of one's style, both of speaking and writing."

Still more difficult would it be, let us hope, for a special class of professional critics to exist under a socialist regime; it is hardly conceivable that such a class would **care** to exist in a society where any amount of healthy, useful work was to be had for the asking. To re-apply Tennyson's words:

> For I trust if an enemy's fleet came yonder round by the hill,
> And the rushing battle-bolt sang from the three-decker out of the foam;
> That the smooth-faced, snub-nosed rogue would leap from his counter and till
> And strike if he could, were it but with his cheating yardwand, home.

There will be an abundance of free and fearless criticism when every work can be judged on its own merits, and there are no "prudential considerations" to make cowards of us all, is not to be doubted; but it seems improbable in the highest degree that individual men of letters will then be so infatuated as to suppose that their personal judgment can be worth giving to the world.

(To be Continued)

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Our View.

THE ENTIRELY OPPOSITE POLICIES subsisting within the ranks of the Labour Party were clearly revealed in the discussion on a private Member's Bill to set up Industrial Councils, the Second Reading of which was moved by a Liberal, Mr. Murrell.

Socialism or Co-partnership.

Messrs Thurtle and Kirkwood, rank and file members of the Labour Party, opposed the Bill as Socialists on the ground that it was a measure perpetuating capitalism.

Miss Bondfield, on the other hand, and Miss Bondfield is an official of the Labour Government, spoke in favour of the principle of the Bill, while criticising the Bill itself She very plainly indicated the Labour Government view, which was a guarded approval of measures of this kind. Mr. Thurtle Mr. Kirkwood and the sixteen Labour Members who voted with them against the Bill represented the Labour Party minority opinion, which is standing out for some form of Socialism instead of for conciliation between employers and employed under capitalism, which the Liberals desire. Many Labour Members, including Messrs. Clynes and Henderson, voted for this particular Bill. Others stayed away. The Labour Party majority is prepared to accept such a modification of the existing industrial system as this Liberal Bill suggests. Though they may quarrel with the details of the Bill, its general outline is what they are actually working for.

Miss Bondfield showed that she, and, of course, the Government, since she was its spokesman, are not opposed to compulsory powers being given to councils of employers and Trade Unions; but she thinks the time is not yet ripe. Many of the Joint Industrial Councils now operating she thinks are so weak as not to be regarded as representing the whole trade. If the Ministry were to give compulsory powers there must be some guarantee that the bodies are really representative. The Government, she said, would leave the Bill to the free vote of the House, she herself, had "always desired to see machinery set up for compulsory powers where agreement has been arrived at." She approves Trade Boards for the poorly organised trades, Industrial Councils for the well organised trades. She complained that the Joint Industrial Conference of employers' organisations and Trade Unions, which sat a few years ago had found the proposals it made to the then Government killed by inaction. The pettifogging half-way house proposals of the Joint Industrial Conference seem to have appeared quite satisfactory to Miss Bondfield, though they were denounced as utterly useless by many who are to-day her Parliamentary colleagues.

It is all a question of the point of view. Some desire a complete Social change; others would merely eliminate the grosser forms of sweating.

For ourselves we are opposed to all attempts to re-build capitalism. Efforts to improve the system are, in our view, merely a waste of time. They raise false hopes which lead people off on experiments which are bound to fail, and which tend to confuse the clear issue between production for profit and production for use.

Even the more advanced wing of the Labour Party in Parliament is, we think, far from realising a complete conception of communism and from seeing that when capitalism goes it must be swept away altogether. Nevertheless there is a great divergence between the standpoint represented by Miss Bondfield, Mr. Clynes and Mr. Henderson, and that of the Members who opposed the Industrial Councils' Bill.

In practice the Left Wing finally submits to the Right in all important matters. This is a pity and greatly retards the progress of popular opinion towards the complete anti-capitalist standpoint.

* * *

MR. WHEATLEY'S EXPLANATION of the various charges upon a £500 house is illuminating. It should open the eyes of all who still believe in the utility and virtue of the capitalist system. This analysis is as follows:—

The Financial Burden on Housing.

Land at £200 per acre 1½d. per week;
Cost of building materials and builder's profit, 1/10½ per week.
Labour 1/3 per week.

This makes a total of 3/3. The interest on the loan required for building the house at 5 per cent. amounts to 6/6 per week.

Mr. Wheatley thus calculated that 3/3 is allocated to those who serve in the building of houses by hand and brain, whilst 6/6 goes to the parasites. The estimate is incorrect for we must deduct the profit on building and building material and the cost of land from the service item. Moreover the whole calculation is on a false basis for the wages paid to the labourers are subject to charges for the profit of parasites who subsist on the industries which supply them with all their daily needs, including housing itself. The only way to rid society of subjection to parasites is to end the private property system.

When it is realised that the cost of the 2,500,000 houses Mr. Wheatley proposes to build will be £2,500,000,000 the serious burden of financial charges so greatly exceeding that of the maintenance of those who actually build the houses will be clearly seen.

It must be remembered that the workers' wages are a charge which will cease when the houses are built. The interest on the loan will continue till it is repaid and the repayment of the loan and also the purchase price of the land form an enormous burden. Under capitalism these are charges which cannot be avoided. They will disappear under communism.

* * *

WHEN the Government goes into the market prices are raised at once. That has always been so, and we suspect, always will be so under the present system.

Housing and the Profiteers.

Mr. Wheatley declares his intention to prevent the old custom from operating. His Housing Bill will make it a punishable offence to raise the price of bricks except where the price of materials has been correspondingly increased. Obviously the price of materials will be increased as the demand for them is enlarged. It would be futile for Mr. Wheatley merely to attempt to regulate the price of bricks—a single item in the building process.

* * *

IT IS INTERESTING to observe that Mr. Wheatley was one of the few members who voted against the Liberal Industrial Council's Bill; yet he is adopting that very principle in the building committees composed of employers and Trade Union representatives which he is setting up under his housing scheme.

Committees of Workers and Employers.

* * *

THE COST OF THE HOUSING SCHEME will amount on completion to one-third of the present National Debt. That is a staggering charge and may well cause all thoughtful people to ponder deeply—even if, which is very doubtful, the houses should be forthcoming at the estimated price. Housing is but one of the many pressing problems facing us. The lack of adequate accommodation for the school children is another question always growing in urgency and extent. Any serious attempt to deal with it must add further enormous charges to the national burden.

How will these vast Burdens be endured?

The same must be said of all the other crying social needs: including the proper treatment of tuberculosis and other widespread diseases, and the elimination of all forms actually physically injurious poverty springing from unemployment, accident, ill-health, widowhood, orphanhood and so on.

Apart from these are the growing demands of the air force and other military requirements, and the ever growing army of Government officials.

The capitalist machine is like a business that has been over capitalised and is paying so heavily to its shareholders that it cannot attend to its own upkeep.

* * *

THE RAILWAY workers are again in a state of conflict. An unofficial strike committee threatening action on behalf of the railway shopmen of the London Electric and Great Western Railways, and the N.U.R. Executive demanding that the men shall remain at work is but another instance of the spectacle which has been frequently before the industrial world of late. The policy of conciliation which the Union Executive is following grows more and more irksome to the actual wage workers. The Union Officials have taken to viewing the industrial problem from the employers' standpoint; they consider the difficulty of making the trade of the country pay in view of the competition of other countries. They have listened to the arguments of the employers and are duly impressed thereby.

Another Rank and File Upheaval.

To the workers the problem is how to secure the necessaries and some share of the amenities of life. It is impossible that they should survey the position through the employer's spectacles.

Conciliation Boards and Industrial Councils cannot radically affect the position, though they may result in making the trade union officials who serve on them more forbearing towards the employers' interests.

The class struggle must inevitably continue, so long as we have in existence the employers and the employed.

SPICE.

"The essence of religion is inertia; the essence of science is change. It is the function of the one to preserve, it is the function of the other to improve."—Winwood Reade.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS

All books reviewed may be obtained from the Dreadnought Bookshop.

EIGHT MEN BURIED ALIVE.

The Centralia Case. General Education League mittee, Chicago.

THE WORLD'S TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

A Losovsky. Trade Union Education League. Chicago, 50 cents.

There are many things with which we dis agree in this pamphlet of Losovsky. Among the points on which we disagree is Losovsky a statement on disarmament. He says:

"We consider the abstract idea of disarmament as a very injurious one, anti-proletarian and anti-communist."

He adds:

"In reality what is this problem of the working class? Of course, it is not the simple blowing up of all guns, tanks, etc., but in seeing to it that all the armament under the control of the bourgeoisie shall be turned over to the hands of the working class. Therefore, the whole ideology of pacifist disarmament is aimed completely against the interests of the working class

The obvious reply to Losovsky is that if the bourgeoisie should introduce disarmament or partial disarmament, the forces available for fighting the workers might be reduced. They certainly would not be increased by fewer battleships and guns being built, and standing armies being reduced in size.

Losovsky perhaps anticipates that when communism comes along the proletariat in the armies will support it, whereas the capitalists will build new armies of their own. Therefore the bigger the old army turned communist the better. It might happen so, but then it might not. The large army may be used against communism. If Losovsky believed that communism will come by Act of Parliament his argument would be more logical than it is, seeing that he is supposed to believe that communism must be secured by extra Parliamentary action. No arguments seem strong enough to excuse the perpetuation of the swollen armaments of capitalism

With the following passages on the future we can agree, but, like the rest of the III International, Losovsky, in the tactics of to-day, still keeps a foot in the old capitalist camp.

"But if our fundamental analysis is correct, that we are moving toward a non-class society; if it is correct that the proletarian dictatorship is a temporary historical epoch then it is absolutely correct, that the organs created by a class society must disappear because there will be no basis upon which these organs can exist."

Losovsky adds:

"For our generation these questions will not make themselves felt practically."

We, however, urge that these are the questions that our generation must fact and solve. These are the questions which are knocking at the door of the social organism to-day. Who fails to face and to solve them takes no real part in the creation of the coming order.

WORKERS' OPPOSITION IN RUSSIA,

By Alexandra Kollontay.

6d.

Parliament as we see it.

Our Parliamentary Reports and Comments are based on the official Verbatim Reports.

Servants of Rajastan.

Mr. Pathik and Mr. Chodri, of the Society of Rajasta, a non-violent organisation for the mutual-service of villagers have been arrested and charged with sedition. Mr. Pathik has been eight months awaiting trial In connection with the activities of this society, peaceful and unarmed men and women have been suddenly attacked and beaten at Amergash and twice fired on at Begun.

Mr. Richards, Under Secretary for India, excused all this, saying there had been disturbances in the State of Udaipur and Bundi, which were provoked by Mr. Pathik and other agitators.

The horrible doings at Bundi have been described in the Workers' Dreadnought, and a copy of the issue containing the account may be obtained by any reader desiring it.

Arranging a Marriage.

Mr. Lansbury protested that the Government political agent had arranged the marriage of the unfortunate Rani Saheba, of Bastar, to a son of a Girjadar, who is the cousin of the Maharajah, contrary to the wishes of all concerned.

Lord Olivir is making enquiries.

Recruiting of Emigrants for the Assam Tea Gardens.

A questionaire is read over to recruits for the Assam tea gardens, their thumb prints are taken and without any written agreement being given to them they are bound to work on the Assam Tea Estates. Under the Indian Penal Code, Section 492, they can then be imprisoned for a month for refusal to perform work contracted for at a place to which the workman has been conveyed at another person's expense. Under the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, a magistrate may order any worker who has received an advance of money on account of work contracted to be done, and who refuses to do the work, to repay the advance or to send him to prison for three months in default. The Government is going to repeal the first Act from April, 1926. The second Act is under consideration.

Mr. Snell (Lab.) said that whoever approaches a worker on any tea garden in Assam renders himself liable to prosecution for trespass. Therefore it is impossible to start any social, religious or educational organisation without permission of the management.

Miss Scott Troy.

For the Home Office it was stated that Miss Scott Troy had been deported in 1919, and Mr. Henderson saw no reason to revoke the order.

Holloway and Brixton Prisons.

Holloway: accommodation for 937 women. Maximum number of prisoners in 1922 and 1923, 476. Officers, 123. Total salaries and bonus, £21,600.

Brixton: accommodation for 694 men; maximum number in 1922, 23, and 24, 535. Officers 110. Total salaries and bonus, £22,565.

Liquor Traffic in U.S.A.

The Prime Minister was informed that Lieut.-Colonel Sir Brodrick Hartwell, Baronet, is sending out circulars asking for public participation in schemes for smuggling wines into the U.S.A.

Mr. Clynes replied that nothing could be done. Mr. MacDonald was very severe with the late Government for permitting such things. Notice his pamphlet on the foreign policy of the Labour Government, written for the last general election.

Mr. Clynes said the Naval Disarmament of Germany is practically complete.

Britain still maintains a gigantic navy.

Lyons and the British Empire Exhibition.

Lyons have a monopoly of the catering at the British Empire Exhibition for the whole period of the exhibition.

The Oil Nuisance Around the Coasts.

Asked to insist that British ships burning oil shall instal apparatus for separating oil from water instead of turning oily water out to the destruction of sea fowl and the inconvenience of bathers. Mr. Sidney Webb, president of the Board of Trade refused such legislation.

Fair Wages Clause and Wembley.

Though the Government contributes to the British Empire Exhibition, and will draw some of the profit, if any, therefrom, it protests that it cannot insist upon the application of the fair wages clause which has been compulsory in the case of Government contracts for many years.

Mr. Lunn said the arrangements were made before the Labour Government came in. Asked whether the Labour Government had not increased the grant he said: "The Bill has yet to be passed, but I wish it were."

He gave no pledge.

More Bishops.

Motions were carried approving the creation of four new Bishops by dividing the Bishoprics.

Armaments Increase in Austria.

Mr. E. D. Morel (Lab.) asserted that the Allied conference of Ambassadors had given the Austrian Government permission greatly to extend the armament factories of Austria the result being that the Austrian armament industry during the past 12 months has supplied quantities of war material to the smaller European states. In 1923, 1,000,000 Mauser rifles were supplied to Jugo-Slavia, and in April, 1924, 116 wagon loads of infantry ammunition were supplied to the same State.

Dockyard Sweating.

Major Hore-Belisha complained that yard craftsmen in the Royal Dockyard at Devonport work an average of 100 hours a week, that their pay is £2 6s. 10d., that they only get six days leave a year when they can be spared. He asked Mr. Frank Hodges, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, to improve these conditions.

Mr. Hodges said the best way to deal with the matter was through the Whitley Councils and Committees.

Admiralty Staff.

1914—2,072. 1924—3,414.

After a "War to End War."

Unemployment in Building.

The highest and lowest percentages of unemployment in the building industries in certain years are as follows:

1918	5.3	0.5
1919	11.4	4.2
1920	7.3	2.0
1921	19.8	8.8
1922	21.5	14.2
1923	20.1	11.3
1924	14.9	8.7

Checking Education.

It was complained that adult workers who attend technical courses get their unemployment pay stopped.

The 8-Hour Day.

Mr. Waddington (Lib.) pointed out that in the Dutch cotton factories, wages are reduced 7½ per cent., and hours increased from 48 to

50½ per week. He asked that the British Government should expostulate seeing that Holland was a party to the Washington Labour Conference and passed an Act legalising the 48 hour week. This extension is now licensed by the Dutch Government.

Mr. Tom Shaw, Minister of Labour, said that since the British Government has not ratified the 48 hour week convention, it cannot make the suggested protest.

Mr. Waddington might take that answer to his colleagues.

Mr. Shaw said the Labour Government proposes introducing a Bill to ratify the convention.

Socialism and Capital.

In relation to Russia Lady Astor inquired "Will the right hon. gentleman explain to me why a Socialist Government needs capital?

The Speaker protested: "This is not the time for evening classes in economics."

Empty Houses for Sale.

Mr. Mills asked the Government to introduce legislation to result in the occupation of 250,000 houses which are held for sale.

The Government could do nothing.

Mr. H. Greenwood (Lab.) asked the Government to advise the municipalities to buy the houses and let them.

House Building.

During 12 months ending March 31st last, the following houses were built:

By local authorities, 14,871.

By private enterprise, with State aid 4,293.

By private enterprise, with rateable value not exceeding £70 in London; £52 in provinces, 66,000.

In course of construction—

By local authorities, 11,731.

By private enterprise, 24,270.

By private enterprise, with rateable value not exceeding £70 in London; £52 in provinces, 86,000.

Houses on which the Exchequer paid the Annual Deficit in Excess of a Penny Rate—

1920—70,335. 1921—146,122.
1922—166,238. 1923—172,747.

The day when the community will be forced by sheer necessity to take full responsibility for housing the people is not far distant.

A Bit of Socialism.

Mr. Ben Turner (Lab.) moved for leave to introduce a Bill to nationalise all lands, minerals, rivers, streams, and tributaries.

Leave was refused by 176 votes to 164.

Liberals and Tories, of course, combined against it.

In the Workhouse.

It costs 26/6 to keep an inmate in the Workhouse. The average is compiled from all the Poor Law institutions. This includes official salaries and all charges.

West Ham Coal Relief.

The Minister of Health refused the West Ham Guardians permission to grant half a cwt. of coal weekly during the summer and a cwt. in winter. He has told the Guardians to keep a careful check on the supply of boots to necessitous school children.

Airship Swindles.

The late Tory Government made an arrangement with a company in which a certain Member of Parliament (Lieut.-Commander Burney) is the most prominent figure for the building of airships. The company was to find £500, the Government £5,500,000 in cash and kind, the airships and other property were to belong to the company. Some £2,800,000 of the money was to be returnable to the Government, if and when there were any profits. The Government was to get no interest.

The Labour Government turned down the scheme and substituted another which is a hybrid between State and private enterprise, and under which the Government pays the company to build a machine and then if it passes the requisite tests, sells it back to the company at less than was paid for building it. The company in question is largely composed of an engineering armament firm and a petrol supply company.

The Government was taunted by the Tories with building a military airship.

Mr. Leach defended the Government saying: "So long as the need for military airships exists the Government are going to pay attention to that need."

Empire Settlement.

On a Tory motion regretting that emigration does not proceed fast enough Sir H. Cowan said "you have to do a propaganda for removing millions of people in a comparatively short time. . . Australia to-day takes £60,000,000 worth of our manufactures. Double the population of Australia by the simple process of transferring 5,000,000 of our people from this country there, and you will trebble the consumption of our manufactures, while you will eliminate unemployment in this country altogether."

What would happen to the unfortunate emigrants; what is happening to them even to-day, though they go in small numbers, is not considered.

Butter, Bacon, Cheese Up.

Mr. MacLean asked the President of the Board of Trade in view of the rise in the prices of butter, bacon and cheese since the Budget, to take power to compel cold storage companies to declare the nature and quantity of stocks held, to prevent prices being forced up.

Mr. Sidney Webb did not think it would be "useful" to introduce such legislation.

Unemployment Insurance.

The financial resolution of the latest unemployment Bill contains three provisos: (1) that the Government contribution be increased from about a fourth to a third; (2) that children between fourteen, now not insurable, are to be brought into insurance. They will get no benefits till they have been in employment and paid contribution therefor for 30 weeks; (3) that the Government contributions payable in respect of men joining the Auxiliary Air Force shall be continued.

Certain Liberal and Labour Members urged that it was unfair to make insurance levies upon the children, most of which would not be spent upon them and that to offer unemployment benefit to children was an inducement to send them to work instead of keeping them at school. The Government was asked that what it proposed to give to children's insurance should be devoted instead to maintenance grants to keep the children at school.

Mr. Tom Shaw, Minister of Labour protested that he wanted to help the unemployed children. "The majority of working class children between the ages of 14 and 16," he said, "are outside the ken of everybody." The unemployed children, he said, are "kicking about the streets." He wanted "some institution to take them by the hand and keep them."

Mr. Shaw was reminded that, at the best, the juvenile unemployment centres only give five weeks' indifferent instruction a year. Finally Mr. Shaw was induced to withdraw this part of the resolution, but would not pledge himself as to what sort of Amendment he would introduce in its place.

THE WASTE IN FOOD PRODUCTION.

By The Man with the Hoe.

There is much criticism regarding the production of food in this country by all sorts of people from the capitalist journalist back to the Labour Prime Minister. One almost loses sight of the fact that there is also a distribution of food problem. We British producers may be much behind some countries in our methods, but can any of our critics tell us any country where distribution is in so chaotic a state as here?

Take milk first. During 1918 and 1919 the big farmers, with their big herds of cows were allowed 3/3 a gallon for milk which was being produced at no more than 1/6. The writer had at the time to make some inquiries into the economic costs of distribution in different parts of London. He found that the small distributor with his little milk pram and two or three cans, usually sold about 500 quarts of milk a week of seven days. The better organised rounds of the co-operative movement, which have numbers of men with a cob, a milk float and a lad doing 1,800 to almost 3,000 quarts a week of fewer hours by far than the small distributor. When we made enquiries in regard to the bottling system of distribution we found a still larger amount distributed, with the evils of short measure, dirt, and adulteration, to a large extent obliterated. The conclusions we arrived at were that given a central authority, like the L.C.C. as the chief distributive agency for London, with all the Borough Councils subordinate distributors, with a proper system of house to house distributing, at least 1,000 gallons a week could be distributed by a man, two lads, a horse van and bottles. The cost of distribution need not have been more than 5d. a gallon against 1/- to 1/1 per gallon that was being taken by the combine during that time. When we take into consideration that the productive costs were 1/6 against the 3/3 allowed, we were able to see very plainly how the agricultural labourer, in the first instance, and the consuming community in the second, were being robbed for refusing to socialise the production and distribution of this vital necessity.

When we tackle bread we find the same state of affairs. Thousands of little bakers throughout the country find it as much as they can do to bake and distribute twelve or fourteen sacks of flour a week, yet we have known men working on well-organised rounds with a lad, distribute almost as much as this on a Saturday alone.

The conclusion we came to was that under a similar method as that suggested for milk 60 sacks could be delivered to the different housekeepers in the shape of bread and the price might have been at least 25 per cent. less.

We found also that meat, vegetables, fruit, etc., could be distributed at a saving of at least 25 to 33 per cent. The leaders of the working class were so busy on recruiting platforms getting cannon fodder to fight the capitalist, that they had no time to look after the common people's interest. Therefore private enterprise was allowed to flourish and stabilise itself in its work of exploitation.

After the military war had ceased, and when the purchasing power of the consumer got smaller, and the industrial capitalist class grew a little afraid of allowing the robbery in distribution to continue, owing to the large number of wage slaves out of employment the Lord Linlithgow Committee was instituted and after a long time came to the conclusion that the consuming public could not afford the luxury of keeping so many social parasites as make-weights.

I think in this short summary I have shown that if we food producers have retained obsolete methods in production the community itself refuses to adopt any more up-to-date methods of distribution.

The little coal distributor, with his horse and van, finds it hard work to distribute 16 tons of coal a week on rounds where only two or three customers in a street are served. On well-organised co-operative rounds men with a couple of light horses distribute over 40 tons a week. If we were to adopt a method of distribution similar to that advocated for milk and other foods, the same man could have delivered 50 or 60 tons a week. With five-ton lorries instead of horses, and with two men and a driver, at least 130 tons a week could be distributed. The miner might be paid more and the consumers might save 25 per cent. of their coal bills.

Until the working class producers and consumers put their thinking caps on and look after their own means of social life, they really ought not to expect the people who benefit materially by their negligence, to do their work for them and if they do expect it they will not get it, because self interest and not social interest is the basis of commercialism Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market is the commercial motto.

RUSSIA'S FAILURE.

By H. Brown.

The Editor publishes this Article without accepting responsibility for the Statements contained therein.

The International working class movement has been one long struggle, from pillar to post. The workers have been robbed of the land which, of course, is the foundation of society. Although the workers have striven to free themselves from the intolerable conditions of capitalism, all their efforts have been a failure.

To-day we have the so-called Socialists, the Communists, and Bolsheviks, boasting and hoodwinking the workers of other nations of their Soviet. The system as set up in Soviet Russia, in spite of contradiction, is State Capitalism in practice.

For example, let us take a recent happening. In March, 1923, the Central Government Clothing Factory in Petrograd reduced the wages of its employees by 30 per cent. without giving any notice or explanation as to the clause. When the employees inquired at the office why so much of their wages were missing, the factory director replied that they, the workers, ought to be satisfied with what they got, and ought to thank them, the directors, and the Government for supplying them with work at all. Being dissatisfied with the result the workers refused to work until they got a satisfactory explanation. Union representatives were called upon, but would not come until the workers returned to their work. The work's manager told them that if they attempted to strike, they would be treated as Counter-Revolutionists, and would be dealt with accordingly. But, nevertheless, the workers called meetings in which the union officials played no part; they merely did their utmost to suppress the strike.

In the case of the Skorokad factory, in June 1923, the Leather Makers' Union and the Communist Committee of the Skorokad Factory decided, without consulting the workers, that a club house in the district should be repaired at the expense of the Skorokad workers. The workers, about 3,000 in number, were told that they must work **eight hours** overtime to cover the expense of the club. The workers refused on the ground—

1. That the club is not a worker's, but a Communist club; only Communist lectures are delivered there, and no others permitted.

2. That even if they would agree in principle to working on behalf of the club, they resented the action of the Union officials, and the Communist Committee in having decided for them, as if they were so many cattle, to do the work.

The workers demanded a meeting of the entire factory, this the Union and shop committee, which consisted of Communists, refused to grant and gave orders that the workers should be locked in the factory. It was only under the threat of victimisation that the workers submitted to work as required, and the most active members were discharged.

In June, 1923, through high taxation and high prices of food and other commodities, the workers at the Putilov factory were compelled to strike. This strike lasted for three days, in which a small increase was granted but other demands were absolutely ignored. As a result of this strike, about 400 workers were discharged and 100 arrested and were detained in prison as Counter-Revolutionists

These are but a few facts concerning present day Russia. Yet the Bolsheviks are continually publishing stories about the glorious conditions and the freedom that the Russian proletariat enjoys.

"FOUR HOURS BELOW."

By a Seaman.

A Bill, dealing with the eight hour day, was recently debated in Parliament. This measure evidently applies to all workers with the exception of farm labourers, domestic servants and seamen. I do not profess to be an authority on conditions governing farm work, neither am I acquainted with the details of domestic service, so, although I do not see why those employed in either of these occupations should have to put in longer hours than other workers, I will only tackle a question with which I may claim to be familiar, that of the seamen. The absurdity of the assertion that an eight hour working day for seamen is impracticable, is easily proved by facts. Engine-room staffs, most navigating officers, and all those employed in the stokeholds work in three watches, dividing the 24 hours equally between them. In American and Australian ships, seamen are also included in the three watch system. There is no reason, except that of economy, why seamen should be on a different footing in British ships. No practical person needs to be told from what quarter the opposition to 8 hours for the seamen originates. Yet, large companies, whose names are household words, would not be really affected by the change. Their ships, being well manned, as regards the number of crew, would not suffer if their seamen were permitted to be split up into three watches, instead of two, as at present. This could easily be arranged without affecting the work, or impairing efficiency. Firms owning small ships run at the least possible expense, would naturally resist any innovation likely to reduce their profits which, I have no doubt, compare very favourably with those of the more reputable companies, whose expenses are so much greater.

The crew of the average cargo steamer comprises six seamen, who work, watch and watch, during the time the ship is at sea. This means four fours on deck, for each watch of three men, working alternately.

During the day watches the work of the ship is carried on by the watch on deck, one of whom, of course, will be at the wheel. During the night the four hours is divided as equally as possible between the wheel and look-out, by the three men whose watch it is.

I am sure that all who understand the conditions, will agree that "four hours below" does not allow a man to enjoy a sufficient rest. For example we will take the watch which is most favourable in this respect,, that is from midnight until 4 a.m. By the time the seamen, whose watch it has been up to midnight, are relieved, get below, undress and turn in, it is half past twelve, and they must be out again not later than 3.45 a.m. to get ready to relieve their mates at 4 o'clock. Can that be humanly described as a night's rest? Even when the weather conditions are fair, it is utterly insufficient, but when one considers the experience of those who endure a North Atlantic winter (to mention only one sort of hardship) it is seen that it is absolutely unnatural to expect a man to carry on under the existing system of watch-keeping. Four hours on deck with the temperature about zero, the decks covered with snow or ice, and a gale from the north-west makes a man long for a good night's rest in comfortable quarters at the end of his watch. Why, a man has hardly time to thaw himself and get warm before he is out again, braving the elements! Surely, a seaman has a right to expect consideration in this respect.

The farm labourer, even if he works excessive hours, ten or twelve, maybe, is stimulated with the knowledge that he will be able to enjoy a good night's rest in comparative comfort "when the toil of the long day is o'er."

I am aware that improvements have been made in the seamen's conditions, during the past thirty years or so, but that was inevitable and only in accordance with the laws of human progress. In spite of the reforms which have been effected, however, there still remains much to be done before the seaman can hope to enjoy even the rights possessed by his fellow workers ashore. Nothing calls more for reform than that of the watch-keeping system prevalent in British ships to-day. It is one of the few surviving relics of that barbarous era, often referred to by inane sentimentalists, as "the good old days."

ROBBO.

B.L.E.S. REPORTS PROGRESS

A good gathering of London members attended the Annual Meeting of the British League of Esperanto Socialists on April 19 and the Dewsbury Group also was represented The Secretary C. W. Spiller reported that the membership had more than doubled in the year; that twenty Labour and Co-operative journals had printed Esperanto articles; that the Workers' Esperanto Club was a success; that nearly half of the 5,000 edition of "Esperanto and Labour" had been sold; and that lectures and meetings has been arranged and the May Day and No More War Demonstrations attended.

The draft constitution was discussed at length the chief alterations being the raising of the yearly fee to 2s., postal ballot for election of E.C., and important resolutions and a recommendation to the B.L.E.S to link up with the Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda." The resolution that members should not be members of "neutral" organisations was defeated. A Press Bureau for receiving and transmitting Labour news and views by Esperanto was set up, and it is proposed to supply members with a monthly circular report. C. W. Spiller, J. P. Cameron and M. Star were elected secretary, treasurer and chairman respectively.

WHAT WE STAND FOR.

The abolition of the capitalist or private property system.

Common ownership of the land, the means of production and distribution. The earth, the seas and their riches, the industrial plant, the railways and ships, aircraft, and so on, shall belong to the whole people.

Production for use, not for profit. Under modern conditions more can be produced than can be consumed of all necessaries if production is not artificially checked. The community must set itself to provide all the requirements of its members in order that their wants may be met without stint and according to their own meaure and desire The people will notify their requirements, and the district and country, the world must co-operate to supply them.

Production for use means that there will be neither barter nor sale, and consequently no money. An immense amount of labour in buying, selling and advertising will therefore be saved.

Plenty for all. Thus there will be no insurance, no poor and no poor law, no State or private charity of any kind. Humiliation, officialdom and useless toil, which means putting parasites on the backs of the producers, will be obviated thereby.

No class distinctions, because there will be no economic distinctions. Everyone will be a worker, everyone will be of the educated classes, for education will be free to all, and since the hours of labour at relatively monotonous tasks will be short, everyone will be able to make use of educational facilities, not merely in early youth, but throughout life.

No patents, no "trade secrets," scientific knowledge will be widely diffused. Since the class war will be no more, the newspapers will be largely filled with scientific information, art, literature and historical research.

Society will be organised to supply its own needs. To-day the essential needs of the people are supplied by private enterprise. Ostensibly we are under a democratic Government, but the most outstanding fact in the average man's life is that he is largely at the disposal of his employer. The government of the workshop where he spends the greater part of his time and energy is despotic.

Under Communism industry will be managed by those at work in it. The workshop will contain not employees, subject to the dictation of the employers and their managers, but groups of co-workers.

We stand for the workshop councils in industry, agriculture and all the services of the community. We stand for the autonomous organisation of the workshops and their ordered co-ordination, in order that the needs of all may be supplied.

Parliament and the local governing bodies will disappear. Parliament and the monarch, the Privy Council, the Cabinet, the Houses of Lords and Commons, provided no true democracy. "Self-government is better than good government" is to be found in a society in which free individuals willingly associate themselves in a common effort for the common good. On the basis of co-workers in the workshop co-operating with co-workers in other workshops, efficiency of production and distribution, which means plenty for all, can go hand in hand with personal freedom.

Elected on a territorial basis, Parliament could not manage efficiently the industries and services of the community. The services at present controlled by it are managed by salaried permanent officials. The condition of the worker employed in such services is the same as in privately owned industry.

A centralised Government cannot give freedom to the individual: it stultifies initiative and progress. In the struggle to abolish capitalism the workshop councils are essential.

The trade unions are not based on the workshop, and are bureaucratically governed Therefore they are not able efficiently to manage the industries. They are ineffective implements in the effort to take industry from the management of the employers and vest it in the workers at the point of production.

Therefore we stand for—

The abolition of the private property system.

Production for use, not profit.

The free supply of the people's needs.

The organisation of production and distribution on a workshop basis.

Our Bookshop.

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